DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 189 864 FL 011 445

AUTHOR Lenskyj, Helen
TITLE Participation Observation: Chinese Mothers and Children at Rhodes Avenue English Classes.
INSTITUTION Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Toronto.
PUB DATE [77]
NOTE 17p.: Not available in paper copy because of poor reproducibility of original document.

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Assertiveness: Behavioral Science Research: Cultural Influences: English (Second Language): Immigrants: *Inhibition: *Nursery Schools: *Parent Role: Preschool Education: Sex Differences: *Socialization: Young Children
IDENTIFIERS Chinese People

ABSTRACT

Observations of Chinese mothers and children at Rhodes Avenue (Toronto) English classes and nursery confirm the hypothesis that a high level of parental warmth-support and control tends to become, by Canadian standards, overprotectiveness, and tends to result in a submissive, dependent, over-socialized child. Dependency upon the mother for physical care and emotional support was most apparent among the younger Chinese children; the mothers' behavior revealed a level of control and discipline that did little to promote autonomy in their children. The theory that girls are more susceptible to over-protection and excessive discipline than boys was supported by the findings in this study. Girls were, on the whole, more submissive and dependent, more obedient and anxious to please. A trend that Bronfenbrenner claimed to be almost universal--that the parent is more lenient with the child of the opposite sex, was evident among Chinese mothers and their sons. This trend, together with the preference for sons in traditional Chinese culture, probably accounts for the more assertive behavior of the Chinese boys observed. (Author)

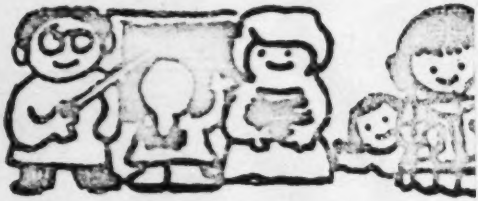
****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Participation Observation:

Chinese mothers and children at Rhodes Avenue English classes

ED189864
FL011445



"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

L. Butovsky, OMCR

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Ontario
Ministry of Culture and Recreation
Citizenship Branch
Hon. Robert Welch
Minister
Robert D. Johnston
Deputy Minister

PARE'IT AND PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION:

Chinese Mothers and Children

at

RHODES AVENUE ENGLISH CLASSES

Prepared by:
HELEN LENSKYJ

INTRODUCTION

This paper will investigate some familial influences on socialization, specifically, the influences of the child-rearing pattern of the Chinese mother upon child behaviour.

Chinese children and their mothers were observed in the nursery at the Rhodes Avenue English Classes. The theoretical model used in interpreting and analysing the data was the theory of optimal levels of parent behaviour developed by Bronfenbrenner and Devereux. A brief account of historical and current social and cultural trends in Hong Kong and Mainland China has been included, to provide background information about the factors influencing the behaviour of Chinese mothers and children, and to demonstrate how centuries of traditional attitudes to the family, roles of sons and daughters, discipline, etc. still affect parent-child relationships today.

The observations and interpretation of parent- and child-behaviour must obviously reflect my own non-Chinese background and a western value system which affirms the importance of freedom, independence and opportunity for discovery and growth as necessary for healthy child development. On the other hand, from the Chinese perspective, 'the Canadian way of bringing up a child (stressing freedom and independence) is interpreted as parental neglect. Similarly, the practice of leaving children to 'discover' things in the classroom is seldom acceptable to the Chinese parents'. (1) Recognizing these cross-cultural differences, I have attempted to record my observations objectively, but, unavoidably, a western perspective influences this work.

THE LOCATION AND THE SUBJECTS

The setting for this study was the nursery at the Rhodes Avenue English classes, located near the Gerrard-Coxwell intersection in the east end of Toronto. This is one of the 55 English and orientation classes for immigrant parents with pre-school children sponsored by the Citizenship Branch of the Ministry of Culture and Recreation. Adults may attend the classes free of charge, and children whose parents attend may take part in a nursery program which emphasizes language development. My own role, for the past four years, has been nursery supervisor.

The program operates on Mondays and Wednesdays, from 1:30 to 3:15 p.m., in Rhodes Avenue United Church. Adults' classes are held from 1:30 to 3:00 p.m., when they break for coffee. The children's program consists of a period of free play from 1:30 to 2:30 p.m. - free choice from among the activities set up in a large hall and in a small room adjacent to the hall. At 2:30, children and teachers put away the toys and equipment. This is followed by a group activity, when the children join in discussions, 'show and tell', and language activities, and a music period, with singing, music and movement. At about 3 p.m., the children have a snack and prepare to go home.

---

(1) Ivy CHAN, 'The Problems of Language learning by Chinese Immigrants' - 1976

Most of the students at the English classes live in the immediate vicinity of the church, and about half of them have children attending Roden Public school, located one block west of the church. Information about Roden school population, providing a profile of the ethnic backgrounds and socio-economic status of the students and parents, is found in the Toronto Board of Education's 1975 survey. According to this survey, the major etnnic groups in the area were Greek, Chinese, Italian and East Indian. The occupations of heads of households were: 51% unskilled, 32% semi-professional and skilled workers, 9% unemployed or welfare, 3% professional. (No information on remainder). (1)

For the three years that this program has been operating at Rhodes Avenue, the students have been predominantly Chinese. Japanese and Italian have been the only other ethnic groups represented significantly. No East Indian or Greek students have attended classes during this (school) year, although a few have attended in the past. The majority of the students are housewives, but almost half were employed outside the home before coming to Canada. Students from Hong Kong, who were employed, generally worked in the textile industry.

Of the 13 children who regularly attend the nursery, 8 are Chinese, (6 born in Canada, 2 born in Hong Kong), 4 are Japanese, (2 born in Canada, 2 in Japan), and one Vietnamese, born in Canada. The majority live in a nuclear family arrangement; the average number of children per family is slightly over 2. Not surprisingly, the children born in Canada speak English more fluently than their mothers, and a few children, who have been attending the nursery and kindergarten (at public school) for a year or two are as fluent in English as children having English as their first language. **(see appendix - a)**

THE THEORETICAL MODEL

Papers by Edward Devereux (2) and Urie Bronfenbrenner (3) on familial influences on socialization provide useful theoretical models to be considered in the analysis of the nursery observations.

Bronfenbrenner proposes that differences in child behaviour are 'a function of the balance of pressure and support to which the child has been exposed in the process of growing up'. (4) The concept of 'optimal level' is the basis for his model - this implies 'a curvilinear relationship between either parental affection or authority on one hand and child behaviour on the other'. (5) i.e. extreme of love or discipline, too little or too much, have deleterious effects on the child, while a moderate amount constitutes 'a wholesome child-rearing diet'.

---

(1) Toronto Board of Education 1975 - River Student Survey
(2) E.Devereux, "Socialization in cross-cultural perspective", in R.Hill and R.Konig, ed., Families in East and West, 1970
(3) U.Bronfenbrenner, "Towards a theoretical model for the analysis of parent-child relationships...", in J.Clidewell, ed., Parental Attitudes and Child Behaviour, 1961
(4) (5) Bronfenbrenner, op. cit. p.97 p.93.

... 3/

In his investigations, Bronfenbrenner introduces other variables, including the social class of the parents, sex of parent and sex of child, and family organization. In reference to differences in child behaviour between the sexes, he concluded that girls were very susceptible to over-protection and boys, to insufficient discipline - 'boys suffered more often from too little taming, girls from too much'. (1)

Devereux's paper describes a cross-cultural comparison - the subjects were children in England, West Germany and the United States. He identifies three factors which account for variations between, and within cultures - warmth-support / rejection-hostility; control / permissiveness: high parent-child contact and involvement/ parental absence and non-involvement. Among the 'parent behaviour variables' measured in this study were nurturance, protectiveness, indulgence, discipline, physical punishment, affective punishment, expressive rejection, encouragement of autonomy. Devereux adopts Bronferbrenner's theory of optimum levels and presents a chart which, in simplified form, shows some dimensions of parental treatment and child behaviour. (over page). In quadrant I of the chart, Devereux traces the effects of various levels of parental warmth-support and control upon child behaviour, with discipline, as it passes the optimum level, becoming over-protectiveness, and tending to produce a submissive, dependent, over-socialized child. This kind of parental treatment and child behaviour (quadrant I) corresponds closely to the observations of Chinese mothers and children at the Rhodes Avenue English classes.

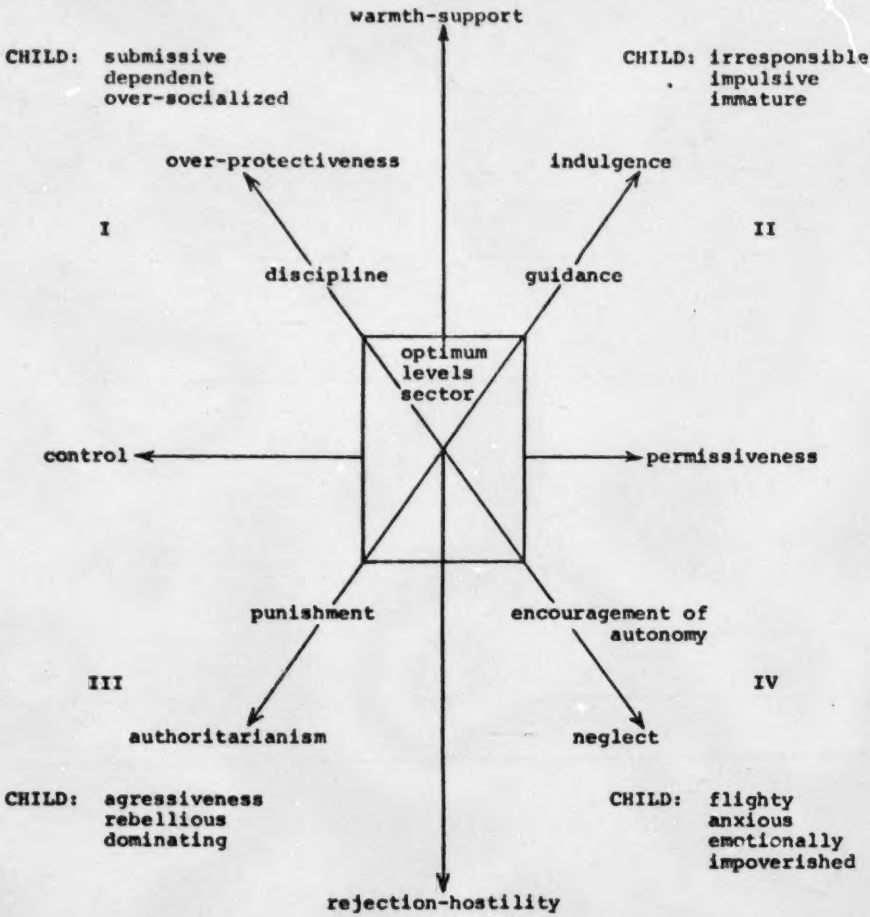
(Bronfenbrenner's findings related to the sex of the parent and the sex of the child indicated that the parent tended to be more lenient with the child of the opposite sex; this trend became less pronounced as the family's socio-economic status rose.)

---

(1) Bronfenbrenner, op. cit. p.92

... 4/

Some dimensions of parent behaviour: a model based on factor structures



SOURCE: Devereux, in Hill and Konig, op. cit. p. 76

... 5/

THE BACKGROUND OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

Chinese immigrants to Canada come from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China. In the 1950's, large numbers came from the mainland, but tighter control of the border limited the flow. The number of immigrants from Hong Kong rose sharply after new immigration legislation in 1967 promoted the sponsorship movement and gave entry to those with adequate education, occupational skills and experience. The post-war total (to 1973) from Hong Kong was over 71,000, compared to 20,000 from China and 5,000 from Taiwan. However, the population of Hong Kong itself is estimated to be made up of about 50% immigrants from the mainland. Therefore, it is likely that a large proportion of Chinese immigrants to Canada have a traditional Chinese background.

The traditional Chinese extended family, generally patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal, based on Confucian principles of respect for elders and the superiority of the male members, existed in China up to the 1930's. The individual's first and only loyalty was to the family - his successes and failures were shared and reflected in the pride or shame felt by the entire family. Marriages and sons' occupations were arranged by the family head, with family interests predominant. Girl's education was limited to instruction in domestic tasks and moral training. A women gained status in her husband's household when she bore sons, but girl babies were less welcome and were the main victims of infanticide. When children began to learn to speak, 'a boy (was taught to) respond boldly and clearly; a girl submissively and low' (1) - this quotation from the Confucian classic Li Chi (The Book of Ritual) is applicable to many contemporary Chinese families. (see appendix (b)

Legislation in China in 1930 improved the lot of women and gave greater autonomy to the individual, but the older Chinese who had migrated to North America tended to cling to their traditional family patterns, with filial piety considered to be one of the most important social values.

The extended family was not common in Hong Kong, although it was an ideal to which the wealthy aspired. The nuclear family and the three-generation single trunk family were the most common family types; with this kind of family structure persisting among the Chinese immigrants to North America. Western thought, modern education and economic changes have begun to erode the traditional Chinese ideal of filial piety in Hong Kong. Traditional education stressed the merits of Chinese culture through the teaching of the Confucian classics. In the education system which has developed since the World War II, about 80% of the schools use English as the language of instruction, with Chinese as one of the subjects of study. Social sciences, music and art are considered of lesser importance; science and mathematics now take precedence over the classics. The mass media bring western thought, challenge tradition and promote western ideals of freedom, independence and equality among the youth of Hong Kong.

---

(1) quoted in: Olga LANG, Chinese Family and Society, 1946, p. 47

... 6/

Competition for limited numbers of places in good schools and university in Hong Kong has led to a heavy emphasis on academic achievement, with less emphasis on moral training. However, by western standards, the education system continues to demand a high level of discipline. Parents expect children to have a large amount of homework, and extracurricular activities and physical education are considered to be play, not work. 'Children are expected to be honest, conscientious, obedient and respectful quietness is accepted, if not encouraged ... a withdrawing tendency ... is seldom recognized as a problem'. (1) This pattern of child-rearing does little to prepare children for North American 'progressive' philosophy of education, with its expectations of responsiveness, sociability and group participation on the part of the child. (see appendix c). In the Chinese family, 'from infancy, children have been admonished to listen and pay attention to adult talk, and thus learn. Their opinions are not sought ....' (2)

Disciplining of children, usually using corporal punishment, was the responsibility of the oldest member of the family or clan in the traditional Chinese extended family. The shame attached to being disciplined also promoted good behaviour on the part of the children. This practice has persisted, to some extent, in immigrant families in which parents and grandparents were all born in China or Hong Kong - they are 'more likely to be strict with the children, use corporal punishment, ... stress intellectual over social skills, and allow grandparents to have a part in the socialization of children'. (3)

---

(1) Pauline Tsui, Education in Hong Kong and adaptation of Chinese children in Canada, 1974, p. 2

(2) Ivy Chan, The Problems of Language Learning by Chinese Immigrants, 1976, p. 9

(3) Mark Creedon, Family Problems in Toronto's Chinese Community, 1974, p. 3

... 7/

INTERPRETATION OF THE FIELD NOTES ON PARENT- AND CHILD-BEHAVIOUR

Most of the behaviour of Chinese mothers falls in quadrant I of Devereux's chart - a high level of parental warmth-support-control, with discipline, as it passes the optimum level, becoming over-protectiveness, and resulting in a submissive, dependent, over-socialized child.

There was a high level of nurturance and protectiveness in almost all the parent behaviour observed, and rarely any evidence of parental encouragement of autonomy. The Chinese mother appeared to anticipate and take care of her child's needs almost before the need arose. Rather than allowing the child to attempt a task by himself, and then providing help if necessary, the mother tended to take control, leaving no room for difficulties to arise. (see appendix -d). With this pattern firmly established during infancy, the pre-school child generally demonstrated a high level of dependency on his mother for physical and emotional support and care. This trend was less evident among the older children who attended public school (kindergarten) as well as the nursery program. (see appendix - e)

Infants and toddlers were given little opportunity for autonomy, even in the development of skills such as walking or feeding themselves. Mothers were often observed carrying two - or three-year-old children rather than letting them walk. The quantity (in winter) and style of clothing worn by toddlers also hampered their attempts to walk. (see appendix-f) (In comparison, the Canadian toddler, 16 months old, who was observed wearing blue jeans and running shoes, typifies the North American tendency to shorten, rather than to extend, the 'babyhood' stage.) When children and mothers were observed together on occasions such as the Christmas party, it was always the mother who put food on the child's plate, or, for younger children, into his mouth, either with her fingers or a spoon. (Ivy Chan claims that it is not unusual for a Chinese child to be spoon-fed to the age of four). Mothers generally carried out the undressing and dressing of children, rarely expecting or requiring the child to participate at all. (However, children were required by the teacher to dress themselves, with a little assistance, before their mothers came to the nursery room.) It was not unusual for a mother in a hurry to lift a five-year-old child onto a table and quickly dress him/her in coat, boots, hat and gloves, while the child merely sat limply, allowing the mother to push his arms, feet, etc. into appropriate clothing. Children often found it unnecessary to verbalize their needs to their mothers, who responded quickly to a mere signal, such a the child waving his coat at her. (Children who were new to the nursery often assumed that this approach would gain the teacher's attention, too. However, the teacher generally responded by asking, 'What do you want?', to encourage verbalization.)

In most of the mother-child interactions observed, Chinese mothers did not appear to allow children's conversation to interrrupt their own - after briefly greeting their children

... 9/

when it was time to leave, the mothers continued to chatter to each other as they prepared to go home. Children sometimes received extra attention if they had some art or craftwork to show their mothers, but the usual reaction to children's paintings was one of amusement, almost condescension. (This is consistent with the reported attitude of Chinese parents to activities such as music, crafts, sports - that they consider them to be outside the basic educational process).

Emotional dependency was particularly evident in Chinese children during their first days at the nursery. As long as the mother remained in the nursery, the child tended to cling to her; often the mother, in turn, clung to her child and appeared apprehensive about leaving. The teacher's attempts to have the mother sit beside the child at an activity, rather than holding him continually, were often unsuccessful. (appendix -g) Children who came to the nursery with an older sibling generally adjusted to the new setting more quickly than those who came by themselves. Mothers often instructed the older child to take care of the younger one, and it was clear that, in the mother's absence, the child's dependency was transferred to the older sibling.

Dependency and submissiveness were particularly evident in the behaviour of girls. This is consistent with Bronfenbrenner's theory that girls are more susceptible to extreme of discipline and withdrawal of affection. In the case of Chinese children, cultural differences must also be considered, in particular the subordinate position of Chinese women historically. Children, 4 or 5 years old, who were upset when their mothers left the nursery, tended to react in two ways: boys cried loudly and sometimes angrily and generally rejected teachers' attempts to comfort them; girls tended to retire to a corner and cry more quietly, sometimes just sobbing silently, and avoided or ignored the teacher. Girls who were confident and talkative in the nursery tended to become subdued and submissive in the presence of their mother, while many boys became more animated and assertive with their mothers. (see appendix - h) When observed in settings outside the nursery - at a picnic, at nearby stores - girls tended to stay close to their mothers and to become a little anxious if their mothers were out of sight. (see appendix - i) (By comparison, three Japanese children, two girls and a boy, were observed playing 'chasing' up and down the aisles of a store near the nursery, while their mothers, apparently unconcerned, continued their conversation.) Girls were generally more responsive to teacher's requests and a few girls, who were more withdrawn, appeared anxious or tearful if the teacher's voice was unusually loud or harsh.

Chinese children of either sex appeared bewildered by the behaviour of English-speaking Canadian children, especially the (relatively) aggressive toddlers who tended to grab toys, hit, pull hair, etc. Chinese children at this stage (about 18 months to 2½ years) rarely displayed the kind of behaviour common to English-speaking toddlers. (see appendix-j) Canadian mothers observed at the nursery seemed to be quite tolerant towards this kind of aggression, sometimes even amused by it, whereas Chinese children received no reinforcement from their mother, and probably saw

... 9/

little sibling behaviour of this kind which might serve as a model. On one occasion, two new Chinese boys, aged 2 and 4 years, were observed sitting on the floor, where they had been playing with blocks, crying quietly while a Canadian toddler pulled their hair. The boys made no attempt to move out of reach, or to protect themselves, or to retaliate. It seemed they did not know how to deal with the problem. Actual methods of disciplining children were not evident in the nursery observations. Chinese mothers were never observed spanking their children, and discussions with some of the children indicated that they were not accustomed to spanking administered by either parent at home. However, perhaps their answers were not entirely truthful, because of reluctance to discuss shameful or embarrassing events. The fact that none of the children had grandparents, who might advocate corporal punishment, living in the same house, could also be relevant. However, children did not hesitate to admit that their parents often 'got mad' at them and scolded them for bad behaviour. Mothers at the nursery were observed scolding their children on a few occasions. A few children demonstrated by their comments and attitudes a greater degree of modesty than most children of this age; (see appendix -k) this suggested a fairly strict system of discipline at home regarding undressing, using the washroom, etc. Children often discussed the restrictions which their mothers placed on them, such as, 'I'm not allowed to take my sweater off' or 'I'm not allowed to play in water today'. However, it was somewhat surprising to note that they often disregarded these instructions after their mothers left, if the teacher indicated her approval. Chinese mothers, unlike many of the other mothers whose children attended the nursery, never asked, 'Was he good?'. Even if the child was visibly upset when the mother returned from her classes, it seemed that the mother considered this a matter for discussion between the child and herself; discussions betweeen mothers and the teacher were generally initiated by the teacher, not the mother. (see appendix - L)

CONCLUSION

Observations of Chinese mothers and children at Rhodes Avenue English classes and nursery confirm the hypothesis that a high level of parental warmth-support and control tends to become, by Canadian standards, overprotectiveness, and tends to result in a submissive, dependent, over-socialized child. Dependency upon the mother for physical care and emotional support was most apparent among the younger Chinese children; the mothers' behaviour revealed a level of control and discipline which did little to promote autonomy in their children. The theory that girls are more susceptible to over-protection and excessive discipline than boys was supported by the findings in this study; girls were, on the whole, more submissive and dependent, more obedient and anxious to please. A trend which Bronfenbrenner claimed to be almost universal - that the parent is more lenient with the child of the opposite sex, was evident among Chinese mothers and their sons. This trend, together with the preference for sons in traditional Chinese culture, probably accounts for the more assertive behaviour, in general, of the Chinese boys observed.

... 10/

Throughout the study, it was also evident that, as the Chinese child became acculturalized through contacts with Canadian peers and teachers, these characteristics - submissiveness, dependency - tended to disappear especially when the child was not with his mother. More rapid changes were observed in children who attended public school as well as the nursery. The child of this age, especially the girl, seemed to be able to adapt to the situation, to some extent - learning the appropriate behaviour expected by the teacher but reverting to the accustomed respectful and obedient demeanour when she was with her mother.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. CHAN, The problem of Language Learning by Chinese Immigrants, 1976 (in 'Papers on the Chinese Community', Ministry of Culture and Recreation)

Toronto Board of Education 1975, 'Every Student Survey'

E. DEVEREUX, 'Socialization in Cross-cultural Perspective', in R. Hill and R. Konig, ed., Families in East and West, 1970

U. BRONFENBRENNER, 'Towards a theoretical model for the analysis of parent-child relationships....', in J. Glidewell, ed., Parental Attitudes and Child Behaviour, 1961

C. LANG, Chinese Family and Society, 1946

P. TSUI, Education in Hong Kong and adaptation of Chinese Children in Canada, 1974 (in 'Papers on the Chinese Community')

Mark CREEDON, Family Problems in Toronto's Chinese Community, 1974 (unpublished report of a panel discussion)

Wong SHAU-LAM, 'Social change and parent-child relations in Hong Kong', in R.Hill and R.Konig, ed., Families in East and West, 1970

... 12/

APPENDIX

References in the text appear thus: (a) (b) (c), etc.

(a) (Page 2, ¶3, last line)
These older children, relatively fluent in English, made the kind of language errors common to most children of this age - overgeneralizations such as 'gots' instead of 'got' or 'has breaked' instead of 'broke', etc. Thus, while lack of fluency in English may account for reticent or submissive behaviour in some children, there was a significant number of children for whom this was not a factor in their behaviour.

(b) (Page 5, ¶2, last line)
Distinct differences in behaviour of boys and of girls observed in the nursery, reflected particularly in the tones of voice they used when addressing the teacher, their mothers, or other adults, suggests that different treatment and expectations are directed at children, depending upon their sex, in the Chinese family. Further evidence of this trend will follow, illustrating assertiveness on the part of the boy, and submissiveness on the part of the girl.

(c) (Page 6, ¶1, line 14)
An example is this incident which took place after the Christmas holidays. When Anne arrived at the nursery, I asked her about her Christmas and she described in detail the Holy Hobby playhouse which she had received. Later, when the Children were seated, as a group, for discussion and storytime, I asked her if she wanted to tell the other children about her present. She replied, 'No, it's private'. (Anne is one of the most communicative children in the group!)

(d) (Page 7, ¶2, line 8)
The tasks which mothers regularly carried out for their children included taking off and putting on outer clothing - coats, scarves, mittens, boots, (regardless of age of child); wiping child's nose, holding child above toilet seat to urinate, carrying up and down stairs, and along sidewalk, (children about 3 years and under); spoon- or hand-feeding, holding cup or bottle for drinking, (children about 2 and under).

(e) (Page 7, ¶2, line 13)
Kindergarten-age children generally became accustomed to the nursery program quite quickly and gave little indication of concern about their mother's absence. In response to teacher's expectations of a certain level of independence in taking care of their physical needs and carrying out such tasks as dressing and undressing by themselves, they demonstrated the ability to look after themselves quite efficiently. However, in the presence of their mothers, they quickly reverted to the dependent pattern, quietly submitting to their mothers' performing many of the same tasks which they did independently in her absence. In some cases, even kindergarten-age children were escorted to the toilet by their mothers, and lifted onto the table to be dressed by her.

... 13/

(f) (Page 7, #3, line 6)
Chinese mothers tended to dress their young children (of walking age - 12 to 18 months), in the kind of clothing worn by infants. Children of this age, wearing 'sleepers', had difficulty trying to walk on uncarpeted floors, since they rarely wore shoes. As well, the clothing worn in winter usually consisted of many layers of sweaters, undershirts, quilted vests, etc.

(g) (Page 8, #2, line 7)
Example: Two children, aged 3 and 4, had just started coming to the nursery. On the first day, their mother left them, unobserved, and the younger child began to cry when he noticed her absence, but was comforted by his sister and became interested in the nursery activities shortly after. On the second day, I asked the mother to tell the children that she would stay for ten minutes and that she would leave then. As soon as she told them, they both began sobbing and clinging to her wildly. She, in turn, clung to the children as they sat crying, on her knees. The crying continued for the ten minutes, when I told the mother she should leave. A few minutes after she left, the children stopped crying and began playing at the water table.

(h) (Page 8, #3, Line 15)
Example: Ethel's 6-year-old brother, David, came to the nursery with her on a day when his school had a holiday. (Ethel is 4 years old). When the mothers came to the nursery door for their children, following the classes, David, catching sight of his mother, rushed into her arms as she stood, several yards away from the door, and embraced her. Ethel did not move until her mother called her name, and then she walked quietly behind her mother and brother as they left the room.

(i) (Page 8, #3, Line 18)
When walking to and from the nursery, and at stores, girls generally held their mother's hand - including 5- and 6-year-olds. On one occasion, when I was in a store opposite the nursery, I heard a child crying and noticed Jenny (4 years old), who attended the nursery, standing crying and calling, 'Mummy'. Her mother was a few yards away, but out of sight behind a display.

(j) (Page 8, #4, line 6)
Chinese children showed little active response on occasions when more aggressive children, usually English-speaking toddlers, took a toy with which they were playing, or when they began hitting, pushing, pulling hair, etc. Toleration of the problem, sometimes accompanied by a puzzled or concerned expression and verbal attempts to discourage the toddler's aggression, were common responses. On some occasions, the Chinese children would express their concern by crying, or by asking for the teacher's help. They rarely retaliated by any physical means, and anger was not a common reaction to this kind of problem.

... 14/

(k) (Page 9, #1, line 21)
On one occasion, when it was very hot in the small nursery room, I suggested to several children that they take off extra sweaters, etc. Annie lifted up her sweater a few inches to show me that she had only an undershirt underneath. Annie said, in a concerned voice, 'If girls just wear undershirts, boys will get them'.

On another occasion, when I was changing the baby's diaper Annie approached, and immediately covered her eyes with her hands, saying in an agitated voice, 'Ugh, ugh! I don't want to see!' (referring to the baby's genitals). When she thought I wasn't looking, she opened her fingers a little and peeked through the crack at the baby.

(l) (Page 9, #1, last line)
Chinese mothers did, however, ask some questions about their children when they returned to the nursery - did he go to the washroom? did he cry long? could I assist in looking for a lost toy/glove/etc.? The kind of mother/teacher interaction obviously depended upon the mother's fluency in English. However, the question, 'Was he good?', was only asked by non-Chinese mothers, regardless of fluency.